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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GR

SUBJECT: US BASES AND MILITARY FACILITIES IN GREECE

REF: ATHENS 761

1. REPORT OF GREEK VIEWS CONTAINED REFTEL IS TIMELY IN TWO RESPECTS. FIRST, IT PROVIDES HELPFUL INSIGHTS ON GREEK VIEWS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US-GREEK BILATERAL TALKS AND DISCUSSIONS WHICH GREECE PLANS WITH OTHER NATO ALLIES REGARDING ITS TIES TO NATO. WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED IN OUR INTERNAL PLANNING ABOUT WAYS TO RELATE THESE TWO NEGOTIATIONS SO THAT WE CAN MEET NEED WE FORESEE TO: (A) PROVIDE THE OTHER ALLIES WITH INFORMATION THEY NEED ABOUT THE US-GREEK TALKS BECAUSE THEIR INTERESTS ALSO ARE INVOLVED AND (B) AVOID, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADVERSARY ATMOSPHERE IN GREECE'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NATO ALLIES. AS WE HAVE POINTED OUT IN THE PAST, THIS MAY BE A PARTICULAR PROBLEM IN PART BECAUSE SOME ALLIES ARE DETERMINED THAT GREECE NOT DIS-ENGAGE COST-FREE FROM ITS NATO MILITARY RESPONSIBILITIES, OR BE ALLOWED TO PICK AND CHOOSE FREELY AMONG INTEGRATED

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MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH IT WILL CONTINUE.

2. SECOND, REFTTEL ALSO REVEALS THAT SENIOR GREEK OFFICIALS ARE SOMEWHAT CONFUSED OR HAVE NOT THOUGHT THROUGH GREEK DESIDERATA REGARDING THE PATTERN OF

GREECE'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP TO NATO. FOR EXAMPLE, TZOUNIS IS CITED AS SAYING GREECE IS "FOLLOWING THE FRENCH MODEL," BUT HE SUGGESTS THAT US BASES SERVING NATO PURPOSES WOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAY AND THOSE SERVING ONLY US NATIONAL INTERESTS WOULD HAVE TO GO. THE FRENCH, OF COURSE, INSISTED ON WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND RECOVERED FULL CONTROL OVER USE OF FACILITIES ON FRENCH SOIL, EVEN THOUGH SOME FEW CONTINUE TO BE USED TO MEET NEEDS OF OTHER ALLIES. SUBSEQUENTLY, TZOUNIS, PERHAPS ACKNOWLEDGING THE COMPLEXITY OF WORKING OUT A NEW RELATIONSHIP, SUGGESTS THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE NECESSARY TO DEFINE WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO IMPLEMENT FURTHER GREECE'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM NATO.

3. WE HOPE SOON TO BE IN A POSITION TO CONSIDER TOGETHER WITH GREECE THE COMPLEX OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF GREECE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND NATO IN THE MILITARY SPHERE. AMONG THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THESE ISSUES, HOWEVER, WILL BE THE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US-GREEK BILATERAL TALKS AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND ITS NATO ALLIES, ON WHICH WE WILL WELCOME THE EARLY VIEWS OF ADDRESSEES.

4. THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS, IN OUR VIEW, CANNOT BE DEALT WITH SIMPLY BY WAITING UNTIL THE US AND GREECE HAVE SETTLED THEIR BILATERAL PROBLEMS BEFORE GREECE UNDERTAKES NEGOTIATION WITH ITS NATO ALLIES. AS WE NOTE ABOVE, OTHER NATO ALLIES HAVE CLEAR AND PRESENT INTERESTS THAT ALSO ARE ENGAGED. SOME ALLIES ALREADY HAVE ARGUED THAT IF GREECE IS ALLOWED IN SOME FASHION TO DISASSOCIATE ITSELF COST-FREE FROM ITS MILITARY OBLIGATIONS, OTHER OF THE NATO ALLIES MAY ALSO SEEK TO DEVELOP THEIR BILATERAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES AT THE
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EXPENSE OF THE MULTILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IN NATO. MOREOVER, THERE IS A CASE TO BE MADE FOR THE PROPOSITION THAT REQUIRING GREECE TO DEAL DIRECTLY IN NATO WITH THE ISSUES IT HAS RAISED IN DECIDING TO WITHDRAW FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE WOULD SERVE THE INTEREST OF INJECTING MORE REALISM INTO GREECE'S SECURITY POLICIES. MOREOVER, THE NORMAL FLOW OF NATO DISCUSSIONS IN ANY CASE WILL INEVITABLY RAISE THE ISSUE

OF GREEK-NATO RELATIONS: FOR EXAMPLE, THE FORTHCOMING NAMFI DISCUSSIONS FEBRUARY 3-5 (ATHENS 758). ADDITIONAL MATTERS, SOME INVOLVING INFRASTRUCTURE AND OTHER FUNDING, AND OTHERS DEALING WITH ONGOING DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR ISSUES (NPG AFFAIRS, FOR EXAMPLE),

WILL UNDERSCORE FOR THE OTHER ALLIES THAT GREECE'S MILITARY ROLE IN THE ALLIANCE NEEDS TO BE BETTER DEFINED. THE ALLIES, ABOVE ALL, WILL FEEL THEY HAVE A LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN US-GREEK NEGOTIATIONS WHICH COVER BASES, SUCH AS SOUDA BAY, WHERE US PERSONNEL ARE STATIONED BUT WHICH ARE NATO INSTALLATIONS. SOME ALLIES, INDEED, CAN BE EXPECTED TO INDICATE THAT US-GREEK ARRANGEMENTS, BECAUSE THEY ARE LINKED TO OVERALL NATO DEFENSES ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK, MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIES.

5. IN OUTLINING THE FOREGOING ILLUSTRATIVE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES THAT MAY BE INVOLVED IN THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TWO NEGOTIATIONS, WE DO NOT WISH TO SUGGEST THAT WE HAVE DEVELOPED ANY FIRM ANSWERS AT THIS STAGE ON THE COURSE TO PURSUE IN DEALING WITH THAT RELATIONSHIP. BUT IT DOES APPEAR THAT THE DILATORY TACTICS TZOUNIS WOULD PREFER, POSTPONING NATO-GREEK TALKS UNTIL AFTER US-GREEK NEGOTIATIONS, MAY NOT NECESSARILY CORRESPOND TO US OR GREEK INTERESTS, AND MAY INCUR OPPOSITION FROM OTHER ALLIES, NOT LEAST TURKEY.

6. A POSSIBLE APPROACH TO CONSULTATION WITH OTHER ALLIES, TAKING ACCOUNT OF US, GREEK AND OTHER ALLIED INTERESTS, COULD ENTAIL DISCUSSIONS IN NATO ON SEVERAL LEVELS DESIGNED TO CORRELATE THE BILATERAL AND THE MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. THREE POSSIBLE PROCEDURAL
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DEVICES OCCUR TO US:

-- THE FIRST WOULD ENTAIL REGULAR BRIEFING OF LUNS BY THE US AND GREEK PERMREPS, WITH LUNS ASKED TO BRIEF THE OTHER ALLIES. INFORMING LUNS THAT US-GREEK BILATERALS WILL OPEN ON FEBRUARY 10, AND AUTHORIZING HIM TO PASS THAT INFORMATION TO THE OTHER ALLIES IS A STEP IN THIS PROCESS.

-- THE SECOND WOULD INVOLVE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFORMAL GROUP OF KEY ALLIES (PERHAPS CONSISTING OF PERMREPS OF FRG, UK AND ITALY, IN ADDITION TO LUNS AS SYG AND BELGIAN PERMREP DE STAERCKE AS DEAN). SUCH A GROUP COULD ACT AS AN INFORMAL STEERING GROUP AND ALSO SERVE AS A BUFFER, IF NEEDED, BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY

IN BROADER ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON NEGOTIATIONS. DISCUSSION BETWEEN GREECE AND KEY ALLIES IN SUCH AN INFORMAL GROUPING WAS AT ONE TIME SUGGESTED TO GREECE BY EMBASSY ATHENS, BUT GREECE THUS FAR HAS SHOWN NO INTEREST IN IT.

-- THE THIRD, AND FORMAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONSULTATIONS, COULD INVOLVE MEETINGS OF "GROUP OF THIRTEEN" (INCLUDING TURKEY), TO DEAL WITH NATO-GREEK ISSUES. WE WOULD EXPECT MOST OF THE PREPARATION OF POSITIONS OF THE THIRTEEN FOR USE IN NEGOTIATION TO TAKE PLACE IN THIS GROUP WHICH, BECAUSE IT WOULD BE AD HOC, WOULD AVOID INJECTING NATO-GREECE ISSUES INTO THE DPC AS SUCH, TO WHICH GREECE HOPEFULLY IN TIME WILL RETURN. THE GREEK REPRESENTATIVE COULD MEET WITH THE GROUP, AS SUCH, OR HE COULD MEET WITH SYG LUNS OR THE DEAN. ESTABLISHMENT OF GROUP OF THIRTEEN WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF FOLLOWING THE PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED AT THE TIME OF FRANCE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE, HOWEVER, TO INCLUDING FRANCE IN DISCUSSIONS SINCE FRENCH INTERESTS ARE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

7. WE WOULD ENVISAGE CONSULTING BILATERALLY WITH GREEKS ON PROCEDURES BEFORE WE SUGGEST ANY OF POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS TO LUNS AND/OR OTHER ALLIES, IN
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ORDER TO AVOID ANY IMPRESSION WE ARE TAKING LEAD TO "GANG-UP" ON GREECE.

8. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDRESSEES' COMMENTS ON FOREGOING, ESPECIALLY PROCEDURAL PROPOSALS. YOU SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, DISCUSS CONTENTS OF MESSAGE WITH NON-US OFFICIALS.
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